

# SOCIAL ACTION

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JUNE 15, 1949



**CHINA, COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANITY**

M. Searle Bates, Charles C. West, Rowland M. Cross

# SOCIAL ACTION

## With WASHINGTON REPORT

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COVER: We are indebted to the Protestant Film Commission for permission to use the photograph of the Chinese farmer; it is taken from the film, "My Name is Han."

# China, Communism and Christianity

Our nation and our churches must now develop a new policy in China. It is the purpose of this issue of *Social Action* to bring to you a factual, summary analysis by three writers close to China's problems on: (1) what is happening in China politically, socially, religiously as a result of the Communist expansion; (2) possible developments in the near future; and (3) alternatives of action for our nation and for Christians here and in China.

The first article on "Christian Interests and the Communist State in China" is written by Dr. M. Searle Bates, professor of history at the University of Nanking (he plans to stay on in Nanking during its occupancy by the Communists), author of the treatise, *Religious Liberty, An Inquiry*. Dr. Bates was at one time consultant on the Far East for the International Missionary Council.

The second article on "Chinese Communist Ideology and the Christian Faith" is by the Reverend Charles C. West, young instructor in philosophy and Christian ethics, Cheeloo University; this Department is temporarily located in Hangchow, Chekiang, China. Three years ago Charlie worked in the quiet of Yale's Sterling Library on a doctor's dissertation study of Communism and Christianity. Since then he has been fashioning theory out of experience as a missionary and teacher in China. His articles and letters have been hailed in America as some of the most confessional and moving coming out of China.

The third article is by an American churchman, Dr. Rowland Cross, who is highly qualified to interpret views of American churchmen on the implications of political developments in China for Protestant institutional mission and church programs as secretary for the Far East of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America and as a China missionary of the American Board from 1917 to 1945.

None of these men practices the ancient sport of crystal ball gazing. They would all agree with Searle Bates who wrote in a letter accompanying his article, "I find no basis in actual conditions and tendencies for sufficiently sharp predictions, even in the form of alternatives, to provide for concrete thought about lines of action in American policy or in missionary policy. Directions and attitudes, yes; specific formulations or decisions, no. We have to walk step by step in faith, without seeing far in advance—fortunate if we are not deceived as to our present location in a clouded ocean."

Yet these articles provide the clear thinking and fresh analysis from deep social and Christian convictions which will give some meaning to the revolutionary forces at work in China and the world.

—KENNETH UNDERWOOD

# **Christian Interests and the Communist State in China**

**M. Searle Bates**

Seldom have diplomats and journalists found such dark difficulty in learning what *is* happening in China. Every mail from America brings new inquiries as to what is *going* to happen. Despite the immemorial tradition of accepting fate just as it comes to this land and despite year upon year of war weariness, millions of Chinese each day are anxious over the morrow—a few keen with anticipation of a new world, many despairing over the old world which has rotted beneath them. Christians sensitive to suffering, concerned for necessary liberty, conscious of the sin and shame of past and present, knowing something of the threat that lies before, must nevertheless go forward in faith and even in hope. Where are we now? What is the threat? Is there any visible basis for hope? Let's start with statements of fact, some of which have to be qualified, but not explained away.

## ***Half of China in Communist Hands***

*First, well-nigh half of China is already in Communist hands, if not in complete Communist organization.* True, that half includes several provinces, notably Manchurian, which were never really incorporated into the National Government system, and have been taken by the Communists from guerrilla, Japanese, or Russian hands rather than from a working Chinese state. Moreover, Manchuria aside, it is only recently that the Communists have acquired an important commercial city, Tientsin; and also a major cultural center, Peiping. Their regime has been built up from wartime confusion and through specialized experience in the countryside. The great economic arteries of the Yangtze and the southern coast, the larger city agglomerations of the southern half of the country, have not

yet been touched—much less, mastered and remade in Communist pattern. But nearly half the entire population is in Communist grasp.

### ***Only Communists Show Dynamic in Current Struggle***

*Secondly, the dynamic of the recent and current struggle is Communist, and Communist alone.* After slow and hard beginnings, they forged ahead in the opportunities of the Japanese invasion, and since 1945 they have developed rapid momentum, culminating in swift military and political triumphs throughout the past autumn. No other group, north or south, has long demonstrated real conviction, consistent effort, effective cooperation, sound discipline. The Communists, faulty as they are, have shown good measure of these essentials. At this moment they pause to negotiate, whether from the need to develop their personnel and organization to meet swiftly expanded responsibilities, or from the intent to substitute victorious diplomacy for military expenditure, or from realization of their opponents' disintegration, or possibly from the necessity of settling in their own camp important issues of policy and leadership. But the deal, the bid, and the lead are all in their hands, if we can see aright.

### ***Half of China Not Communist is Without Leadership or Program***

*Thirdly, the large half of China not now in Communist hands is politically divided, disorganized, dispirited, without leadership or program.* There is no worthy or effective center of resistance, spiritual or material, to Communism. The Kuomintang has not done the work of government, but has prevented others from doing it. The old oligarchy around Chiang Kai-shek has lacked the basic character, even the intelligence, to confront the problems of the nation; but it has refused to develop new men adequate for central leadership. This is a sad ending for the Kuomintang which twenty years ago car-

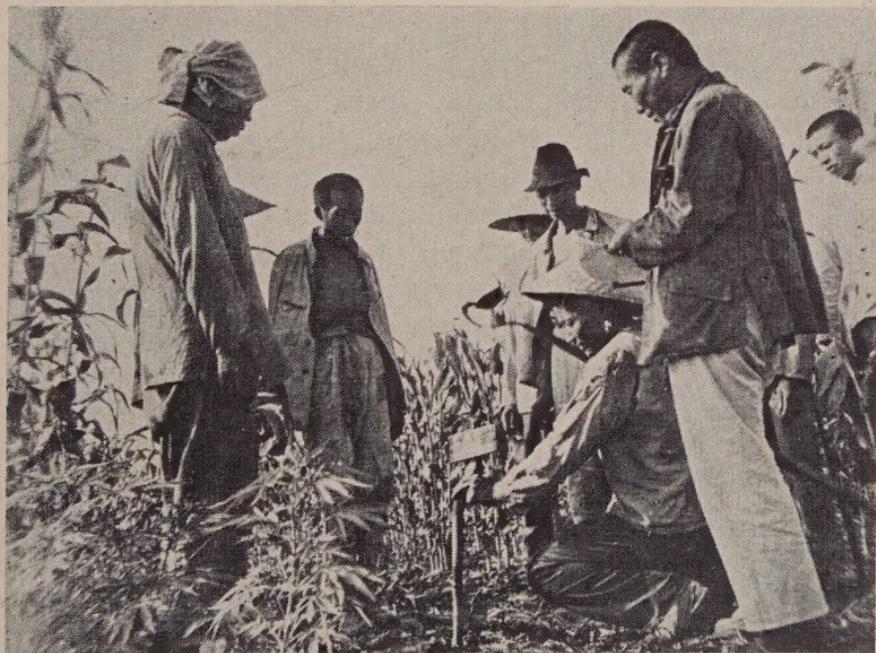
ried such high hopes of national unity, of winning independence from the encroachments of foreign imperialism, of rapid progress in economic life. The public will allow that regime some credit for stubborn continuance, too largely passive continuance, in the exhausting stand against Japan. But in all other columns a deficit is recorded—in red ink, dare we say? All told, the strong majority of intelligent and responsible citizens who do not desire Communism, but rather a democratic socialism or part-socialism, see no actual alternative to Communist rule. Therefore, they favor peace with the adversary while still on the way; not futile war for a people that has known no peace since 1937, no stability since 1911.

### ***Chinese Culture Offers No Strong Resistance***

*Fourthly, Chinese society and culture, while traditionally far from Communist, are not in a position to offer resistance which government and political leaders have failed to maintain.* The vast reach of loosely associated villages and families, with a large measure of local self-sufficiency; the high degree of individualism and of indiscipline, allowing for the fact that in some instances the family acts in society as an individual; the dominating bulk of peasant interests over against industry; the Confucian line of authority exercised on a personal basis, and the practice of mutual adjustment rather than of strict command and forced obedience—all these add up to *laissez-faire* in the social sense, under little control save the scarcely felt yoke of custom. But the very nature of these non-Communist characteristics denies the possibility of organizing them against Communism. Passive resistance to centralized programs there will be in plenty, but scattered and ineffective. Poverty is so widespread that few have much to lose, and many have ears to hear the promise of bettered status for the humble; and long wars plus inflation have discouraged those who trust in other economic systems.

Again, Chinese culture as an ideology is rapidly disappear-

ing, and the generation that has known some modern education has not found in the experience of China or in the experience of foreign peoples the basis for ideational faith in any alternative to Communism. Communism therefore operates with practically no competition in the thought-world. Moreover, for the sake of power in China, it has built up its political revolution by techniques of organizing peasants (far from Marx and Lenin and Trotzky in their reliance on the industrial proletariat; far also from Stalin's semi-industrialization of peasants as state servants on collective farms). Some day the Chinese Communists may sharply reverse their recent encouragement of individual small properties, some day they



*Triangle*

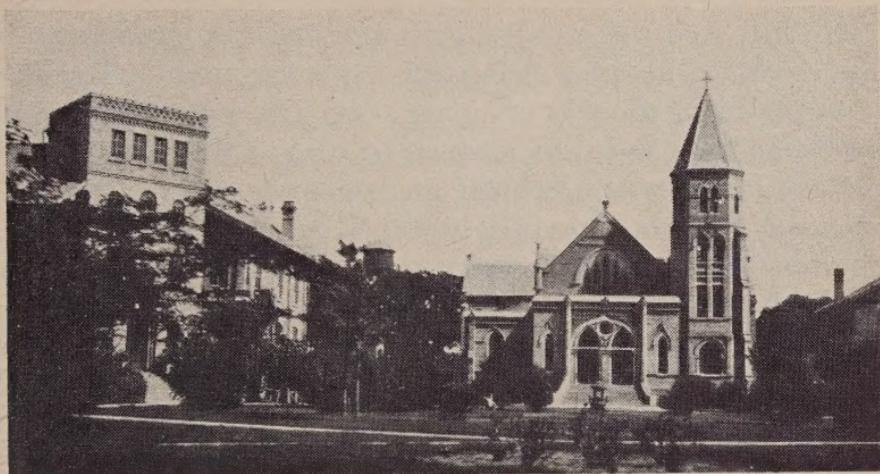
Encouragement of individual small properties is part of the current Chinese Communists' program. Above: Dividing the land in Manchuria and marking the boundary lines.

may bruise peasant welfare for the sake of industrial-military development under forced draft. But now their propaganda and their working program hold the field, for lack of rivals if not for merit and accomplishment.

### **Chinese Communists are Totalitarian and Anti-Western**

*Fifthly, the Chinese Communists are totalitarian, anti-religious, and anti-western.* Their economic and political philosophy, their world-view, their organizational model, all are found in Russia, where many of the Chinese Communist leaders were trained and from which have come their books, their techniques, and their line in international relations, from the Shanghai beginnings in 1921 until now. When the Communists failed in Chinese cities, they took to the country. When early tactics failed there, they learned by experiment how to arouse some elements of the peasantry, how to secure their cooperation in subordinate capacities. When Moscow direction proved to be self-defeating, and when Stalin threw upon Chinese leadership the blame for repeated fiascoes in the 1927 era, Chinese Communists learned to make their own way with an apparent minimum of management from Moscow, trying to establish the role of serving national interests. They are none the less believers and practitioners of "the new democracy" which they clearly expound as centralism, the management of a totalitarian system by the party leaders in the name of the masses.

Religion is to them, as to Marx-Lenin-Stalin, the enemy of science and therefore of human welfare; the superstition most dangerous because the most widely respected and the best organized; the ally of the *status quo*, the inner opponent of revolutionary change, in China as in Russia. The Chinese Communists for nearly thirty years have identified western societies as capitalist-imperialist, dedicated to oppression of the common man at home and abroad, and to destruction of Communism as the one foe to their militarized aggression.



A.B.C.F.M.

Central Church, American Board Mission, Peiping. Bridgman Academy for Girls at the left.

Although in details they have not followed the Moscow twists, the basic view has remained constant, in China and in Russia alike. Of course the United States and all its works is the current target, smeared in truth when truth is suitable for that purpose, and in suspicion, hatred, and imagination when truth fails to fill the propagandist formulas.

### *Christian Church is Pitifully Vulnerable*

*Sixthly, and lastly, the Christian Church is pitifully vulnerable.* From a human point of view, it is as likely to escape because of insignificance as because of its strength. The condition of the nation and of local congregations is such that no report of numbers is within fifteen years of accuracy; but Protestants may number above 600,000 or one-eighth of one per cent of the total population, Catholics well above four millions, or nearly one per cent.\* Protestant divisions, for that tiny and

\*The Roman Catholics count all baptized souls while the Protestants count only communicants, according to *National Christian Council News*, May 1949.

scattered group, number about as many as in America, praise the devil! And the majority are more deeply concerned with the essence of division than with fellowship and cooperation —the word or thought of "unity" we dare not utter, for it hurts the faith and conscience of so many Christians. Catholics are not so well organized as they appear to be; they are relatively weak in education; and they notoriously fall foul of the Communists through the possession of many large tracts of land and houses used as endowments, and through the abundantly advertised anti-Communist stand taken by their six daily newspapers and by the prominent bishop Yu Pin who has been high in Kuomintang politics.

The Christian Church is very poor in its own eyes, unable to support adequate local leadership; yet it is attacked as the possessor of properties and the recipient of subsidies from imperialist capitalism. The Church has continually been scorned by Chinese intellectuals because the Sunday services are attended by so many uncultured folks; but the leftists denounce it as a bourgeois institution of those favored few who don't have to toil and therefore can attend during hours when the suffering masses labor to keep themselves alive and to feed the bourgeoisie. Schools and hospitals in private hands don't fit the totalitarian book, and there is a tendency here, as in Russia, to bar the Church from organized social service while condemning it for failure to do anything socially useful. In these circumstances the morale of Christian workers is not uniformly good, and one must marvel at the degree of faith and persistence frequently evidenced, though fresh vision is rare. The young, weak Chinese Church is adjusted to a liberal Chinese nationalism and to western Christian contacts. It seems likely that these adjustments must be radically altered for the sake of survival in a totalitarian, unChinese, and anti-western avalanche.

## *Possibilities for the Near Future*

Now what are the possibilities for the near future? These words are written in March on the south bank of the Yangtze. They would be differently colored, if they could be written at all, in northern areas with actual experience of Communist rule; they might be different in the relative placidity of Foo-chow, Amoy, or other southern climes, and yet different in later months from Nanking or Shanghai. Regular Communist troops are hardly fifteen miles distant, and there is an accent of guns in all the peace-talk of this so-called capital city from which authority has departed. The men out in front pushed Chiang Kai-shek away so that they could talk peace; but the newspaper editor who wants Chiang definitely to resign and to quit sabotaging the peace program, is jailed. The Kuomintang generals half-privately sing in four parts: "We will fight"; "We will not fight"; "We cannot fight"; "We must fight"—and the refrain in unison is this, there is no choice. Maybe they are right in hazily realizing that what they do will not determine the outcome, for apparent power is with their enemies, and the course the Communists will follow is not at all clear, perhaps not yet decided among themselves. Here are possibilities which Christians have to think of, in a list by no means logically or practically complete, and subject of course to all sorts of shadings and combinations:

(1) The Communists may rush rapidly toward the complete organization of the entire national life, impetuously liquidating all persons, institutions, and patterns of conduct which fail to conform or which offer any threat of danger to the new program.

(2) The Communists may begin with strong assertion of their authority, followed by some degree of relaxation and of cautious experimentation.

(3) There may be a carefully planned, step-by-step consolidation of all social activity, beginning steadily but proceeding inexorably to the totalitarian goal.

(4) The long concentration of the Communists upon the

accumulation of power, and consequent or accompanying neglect of adequate preparation for actual management of the nation, may result in much blundering along in trial and error, loosely directed by Marxist ideology and by Russian experience.

(5) The Chinese Communists may be undertaking a thoughtful effort to work out something new in this particular society, confronting actual needs and resources, and utilizing the failures as well as the successes of previous undertakings here and in Europe.

(6) There may be for a period of years a "coalition government" which will try to enlist the active cooperation of many useful non-Communist elements, of course holding fast in Communist hands the reality of power, but with necessary moderation during this intermediate stage.

(7) Possibly the device of the coalition may be employed for a brief time only, merely to assist in an easy take-over, but then dropped for one of the programs under exclusive Communist management.

(8) The present regional and personal differences among the anti-Communist groups might harden into definite regimes, each trying to make its own bargain at its own time with the Communists (there are some signs that the Communists will foster such separatism if they fail to secure a satisfactory submission in one piece).

(9) Military resistance to Communism may again be undertaken, according to plans of Chiang Kai-shek and others which seem to be more than tentative.

(10) The Communists themselves might split over acute questions of leadership and of policy already rising among them, questions which will loom the greater when external opposition has been liquidated and when full responsibility for the economic and general life of the entire nation must be shouldered. (However, the Communists' strongly maintained principle of a single central will has usually been able to triumph, at whatever cost.)

(11) There are factors of international influence, not determined for the future, both on the Russian side and on the American side.

(12) International war actualized, determination upon international war by one of the two major forces of the world,

the desired or feared expectation of international war, might have incalculable effect in China, and even now is a factor in the attitudes of many.

### *Difficult Problems for the Communists*

We must further note, by suggestion only, the difficult issues and problems which lie before the Communists and which cause not a few Chinese to think that the Communists—perhaps any group whatsoever—may fail to hold the country. Some of these have been referred to in other settings. How can industry be promoted in a poor, overpopulated agricultural country, except by taxing many farmers into starvation in order to save capital for machinery? But if your power is based on the support of rural groups, where does that land you? How can you carry through a rigorous centralization and yet favor local cooperation and local initiative? Communists can hardly move forward without oil, metals, and machinery from abroad, which can be secured only through reasonable trading conditions and a policy which does not destroy international contacts. For what do they plan when they beg foreign interests to continue in the areas occupied by them, but at the same time keep foreign consular staffs in Mukden under prison conditions, and confiscate large supplies of Economic Cooperation Administration goods in Peiping and Tientsin?

Again, the Chinese Communists appear to be highly conscious of their need for trained and experienced administrative and technical personnel, and to be fishing for wholesale transfer of such personnel from the old regime. How can they mix suspicion and compulsion with invitation and effective opportunity for such men to work? How treat them well enough to secure loyal cooperation, and yet avoid serious dilution of the present Communist cadres? The responsibility for building up economic effort at a rate that can begin to reach needs and expectations is appalling. We are shooting through the third successive currency in a little more than three years,

and credit will long be nil. This situation opens the door to desperate measures, since orthodox methods refuse to promise quick recovery; but the desperate measures will not necessarily succeed.

In fine, the game seems to be going to the Communists with no sound chance of an opposition rally. What they will do with their victory, and the total interaction of their movement with Chinese society, are still open to speculation. But the direction and some of the characteristics of the movement are not hidden. Christian interests face a highly unfavorable outlook with potentialities of temporal disaster.

### *Attitudes of Christians in China*

Some few Christians are entranced by the prospect of the exaltation of the humble and the downfall of rich exploiters, by the hope of security for the poor, without questioning too closely the credentials of those who press in violence to bring forth the new world. Many hold similar yearnings, but doubt the purpose and the ability of the rising leaders, and dread the crude regimentation, the arbitrary compulsions of which they already know enough. The more thoughtful leaders hope for tolerance on the ground of service to plain folk, and seek to gird their flocks for the maintenance of spiritual integrity amidst manifold pressures. Opposition as such is not contemplated, and for large numbers the risks will come in ill-considered conformity. But somehow the inner citadels must be kept in the spirit. There must be faith to open new doors of service when old ones are barred, there must be an almost apocalyptic expectancy that God can turn suffering into joy, failure into triumph. If there will not arise a St. Paul from a Saul of Tarsus, there may at least be a Berdyaev and a Bulgakov coming forth from Marxist thinkers.

### *American Policy for China*

American Christians will want to share as fully as they can in the great testing of their Chinese brethren. As citizens they

will desire to see a China safely at peace, committed to the democratic way, developing its economy for the welfare of the whole people, soundly national while cooperating heartily with the United Nations. Neither the Chiang regime nor the Communist regime works on such lines, so far as recent experience and present knowledge declare. It is already plain that the rise of Communism in China is contributing to the unrest of the Philippines, Burma, Siam, and Malaya, directly and through the Chinese populations in those lands; while Japan, Korea, and the Netherlands Indies are shadowed for the future.

Under present or foreseeable circumstances, military aid to the discredited Chiang group cannot be recommended. Political and cultural contact, moderate economic aid, for the sake of continuing and future relationships with a people whose future is not yet hardened, are worth the risks. There is more danger of America's losing contacts which she ought to maintain, than of adverse results from such wholesome contacts as we are permitted—by Communist or by American moods—to continue. In public life as well as in Christian circles, we must not give way to fatalistic determinism, but in full realism must act in faith and hope for better things than we now see. Again and again in human history, costly revolution is the penalty for selfish rigidity of an old regime which refuses needful change. Then comes the need for every possible redemptive and constructive element in the new era.

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# **Chinese Communist Ideology and the Christian Faith**

***Charles C. West***

A new spirit is in the process of capturing China. From this basic fact we must start if we are to understand Chinese Communism. China is in revolution out of desperate need of her people—for food, for security, for meaningful community life and a faith for living. Communism did not create this revolution. It has been bred in the soil of a slowly decaying Confucian culture, suddenly flooded with western ideas and techniques. Christian missions and western schools have helped to produce it, by bringing a new conception of the freedom of individuals and the possibilities of life. Western industry and efficiency have nurtured it, opening peasant and coolie eyes to new levels of material comfort and power, and tearing apart the old, careful balance of power in society. War, civil and world-wide, has matured it. Because there is so little left of old China's social and moral system on which to build, only revolutionary power can reestablish peace and order.

Communism has become the form of this revolution and the channel for the patriotism of thousands of sincere idealists. No other theory offers a handbook of revolutionary strategy. No other party has actually overturned the prejudices and powers of old China, sending students to work in the fields, dethroning the landlord and the official, and bringing politics and culture to the average peasant. The Communists alone have not been afraid to base their power on peasant mass movements, because they share the feelings of these masses.

But the tragedy of Chinese Communism is precisely the obverse of its success. This movement of Chinese peasants and intellectuals is cast in a mold of rigid orthodoxy, learned from Marx and Lenin. The tool which works social miracles in

China is master of its users. The conflict between the basic patriotic motives of most Communists, and the logical demands of their theory has not yet come to a head, but some day it must do so. For Communism is not the true explanation of the Chinese revolution. It cannot allay the deepest fears of the people nor fulfill their hopes. To make this clear let us look first at a map of the Communist official mind as it struggles to explain the facts of China:

### *A Chart of the Official Communist Mind*

#### 1. THE NEW DEMOCRACY

To understand this, one must understand its place in the Communist diagram of history. The Chinese Communists have thought and published very little about materialist philosophy or economic determinism. But they take for granted these things which Marx and Lenin have taught them.

History moves forward by a conflict of economic powers of which all thought, religion, morality, etc. are reflections. The present stage of history in China is, they say, just at the end of the "feudal system" in which landlords and officials held all the power, and at the beginning of the capitalist-democratic period, which must do its work of industrializing the country before socialism can take over. This is about where Europe was in 1800. But there is a difference. Since 1800 the capitalists of the West have spread their imperialist tentacles over all the world, in a vain attempt to suck blood for their dying veins from the masses of colonial peoples. And on the other hand, the glorious revolution has brought the victory of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and given the "people" everywhere a resource of strength on which to draw.

Therefore, "the coming democracy in China need not be like the empty mask of capitalist greed" which we see in the United States, for example. It will be a controlled capitalism in the interests of small businessmen, farmers and the proletariat. The place of the monopoly capitalist and the bureau-

crat will be taken by the "people's state" where necessary. The government will be an "alliance of all revolutionary classes." This means that of course the Communist Party must lead and dominate, since there are more proletarians than any other class. But the petty bourgeoisie—small businessmen, farmers and intellectuals—will also have a part. Politically this would mean a system of "democratic centralism" based on village assemblies electing delegates to higher assemblies who in turn elect to provincial assemblies and so up to the National Assembly. However, the Communists are to have only one-third of the seats in most of these assemblies. The rest are to be divided among representatives of other classes which are not anti-Communist.

Under this planned "New Democracy," the state will control only those industries which are natural monopolies, or are too big and essential to be left to private owners. Private investment and trade will be encouraged and profits will be expected. At the same time, workers' welfare will be protected. No man may close a business or fire a worker without approval from the government. Strikes and other industrial conflicts must be arbitrated by the government. The driving aim of the whole economy is to increase production and raise everyone's standard of living.

In practice there is much freedom of trade and private enterprise, but no freedom for economic power. There is fairly broad participation in government (in some cases most of the petty officials from the Kuomintang regime have kept their offices), but no genuine coalition. All rights and all authority rest in the "people's government," including, according to latest news, the ownership of land. The result is that only those businesses, churches, schools, or hospitals can exist economically which are allowed for in the government plan.

In short, for all their theory, the Chinese Communists are totalitarian in principle. They firmly believe that they alone

have the correct interpretation of the proper organization of society. They will adjust their ideas in order to gain power and hold it—this realism of theirs is in fact our greatest hope. But they will admit limits on the power of their government and will increase the areas of freedom in economic life only under pressure. At the same time, economic prosperity under their control is their consuming desire.

## 2. THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The Communist Party in China draws most of its information about world affairs and, so far, all of its viewpoints from the Soviet Union. The power of the revolution there has given the Reds spirit and strength in their darkest moments. Any questions as to where they line up today should be answered by a speech from Liu Shao Chi, one of their principal theoreticians, last November.

Comrade Liu contrasts the bourgeois with the proletarian view of the nation in the words of a Communist primer. Bourgeois nationalism is the tool of capitalism. It tries to identify the "nation" with its own class desires, exploiting the masses. At the moment, it is being used in this way by the Kuomintang reactionaries. Proletarian internationalism opposes all exploitation of one nation by another. It aims at revolution in every country after which that country will liberate the nations which it oppresses (as the Chinese once oppressed the Mongols, for instance) and invite them to join in free federation. Of this process the Soviet Union is a glorious example. For this reason the Communist Party cooperates with all genuine nationalism even though bourgeois, which is a struggle by exploited people against imperialist countries in the West. But they must be careful not to get caught, as the Chinese Reds were caught in 1927, by a bourgeois nationalist movement which betrays the revolution. Therefore (says Comrade Liu) the world is divided into two "mutually antagonistic" camps:

"On the one hand is American imperialism and its stooges in the various countries of the world—the reactionaries. This is the world imperialist camp. On the other hand is the Soviet Union and the new democratic countries of eastern Europe, the national liberation movement of China, the countries of southeast Asia and Greece, and the people's democratic forces of all the countries in the world. This is the world anti-imperialist camp."

The whip is then cracked over "all democratic parties and groups, all people's organizations and non-party democrats." They "should think and act in this and no other way" or "they will lose their bearings and be discarded by the ranks of the revolution."

### *Anti-American Red Propaganda*

The anti-American pitch of Red Propaganda here has been like a steady siren. Only eight Wall Street families, says the Party line, control America and its policy. The object of this policy is to plunder and oppress all nations. Almost every news release about a Nationalist bombing raid mentions that the planes and bombs are American. Also, there are plans for a string of American military bases across North China proposed by "bloodthirsty butcher," General Wedemeyer. (There are degrees of invective. Chennault is only a "notorious American adventurer," and still kinder words are used for General Marshall.) And late last year the Reds published a secret plan for an American Cominform, directed by the OSS and with headquarters in Washington. It would:

- (1) Organize and support center parties
- (2) Strive to reach understandings with left wing socialists
- (3) Develop anti-Communist activity in peasant and trade groups
- (4) Stir up discord among Communist leaders and "absorb renegades from people's movements" into its work
- (5) Gather and study intelligence reports on "peoples' movements."

But finally a few words must be said to qualify this propaganda. It is a faithful picture of the fears and dogmas in the Communist mind. But it forgets the heart of the Chinese patriot.

### *The Heart of the Chinese Patriot*

In the first place, most Communist leaders are not hypocrites or cynics. They sincerely accept the theory of Marxism and the propaganda of Soviet Russia. They sincerely believe that individual freedom is not terribly important, that all human spirit is an expression of economic conditions, and that the ideal society is a carefully organized production machine. They believe in a matter of fact way, without passion, all the distorted picture of history and world power which is reflected in their propaganda. But they have, on the whole, treated individual foreigners in their area as representatives of the oppressed masses in the countries from which they came. They have been eager arguers on occasion, taking in and considering points of view other than their own.

### *Ties With Russia Almost Wholly Spiritual*

In the second place, ties with Soviet Russia are almost wholly spiritual. The economic interests of China are tied up with capital and trade from western countries. It is doubtful if the Soviet Union would go to war to defend Mao's territory south of the Great Wall. Except in Manchuria, few Chinese Communists have seen a Soviet citizen. This is a different situation from Europe, where the direct threat of Soviet armies and economic pressure forces the issue. It is anyone's guess what will happen when and if another ideology than the Communist, and another power than Russia offer concretely to help the Chinese carry through their revolution. It would certainly create a profound split between the dogmatist seeking power, on the one hand, and the patriot seeking to realize his ideal, on the other.

### *Policy of the U.S. Government*

All of these facts point to a question mark about the future of China. And behind that question mark is the policy of the United States government. Seldom has America been confronted with a more difficult but challenging diplomatic job. Our bargaining power in China is the power of our capital and trade to develop the nation, especially the demonstrated value of ECA help straight from our government to responsible Chinese administrators. The Communist leaders will not grant effective freedom without the sort of pressure no groups in China can any longer exert. But they have formally declared their allegiance to the essential freedoms—"speech, organization, assembly, thought, belief, and person"—to quote Mao Tse-tung. If those freedoms could be guaranteed against the economic and secret political pressure of the government, even partially, then forces in Chinese life might well, over a generation, soften the contours of Red revolution toward something like democracy. The merchant guilds, the liberal but not Communist parties, the local village organization, industrial cooperatives, and the Christian churches are examples of forces which have not yet gone the way of their counterparts in Europe. If the United States can tactfully bargain economic help in return for freedoms under law in China, she may find friends among the Communists themselves where patriotism and thirst for general prosperity is strong. And she may undergird an atmosphere of hope, if not of peace.

### **3. "FREEDOM OF RELIGION"**

The Communists have no use for religion in China or anywhere else. It is an imaginary dreamworld, they say, which deceives the people and draws off their energy from worldly reform. At the same time, they vigorously defend freedom of religion. The record up to a year ago was inconsistent, but on the whole, bad. There was evidence of church services being prohibited, Bibles confiscated, ministers persecuted and driven

from their parishes. In the past year, however, an overall milder policy has been in force. Worship is allowed. Religious propaganda also goes on. Many Christian schools are running, provided religious activities are off the school grounds. In some places ministers are allowed to make their living by serving the church. This is the substance of freedom of religion.

Against this is freedom of anti-religious propaganda. So far the Communists have made little use of this. Mao Tse-tung has specifically stated (*China's New Democracy*) that the culture of the New Democracy must be scientific and cannot be idealistic or religious. It must "search for truth from concrete facts." The concrete facts are "the revolutionary practice of millions of people." But the Communists have not joined the issue—partly because they cannot afford to alienate the Mohammedans, partly because they have better means of undermining Christian influence.

### *The Spiritual Pressure of Communism*

Yet the spiritual pressure of Communism in its areas is overwhelming. It offers youth especially a warm personal fellowship, a concrete purpose, and a vocation in fulfilling it, which the Church fails generally to provide. The circles of the Communist Party are a fellowship of extremely frank mutual criticism and confession, against the standard of conduct and attitude set by the authorities. Where possible they use the confessional meeting as a means of reforming and controlling every social institution from hospitals to village councils. They use the pressure of student and workers' organizations to push Christian expression out of Christian schools and hospitals, or generally to change the concept of authority by which the institutions are run. It is generally assumed by Christians that the authority of God sets certain standards of excellence in teaching—accuracy and care in work, and financial responsibility—which give a natural authority to the staff and administration of an institution. The Communists en-



*Triangle*

A blackboard set up in a street in North Shensi, informing the people how to elect their own representatives to the People's Council.

courage a reversal of this idea. The servants or the students of an institution represent the people who are the ultimate authority, subject only to the direction of the People's Government.

### ***Government Gives No Social Value to Religion***

There is also government interference with religious life due to the fact that government credits no social value to religion and demands, therefore, that it give way whenever the total energies of the community are being organized, or that it obey restrictions which limit all activity not encouraged by the government. For example, pastors have been arrested for illegal moving about while making parish calls in the country. Compulsory people's meetings may be held, even in church

buildings, during church time. In many places no money may be raised by the church for its support. Charity and social service projects of the church are looked on with suspicion and discouraged.

Finally, the experience of a few martyr-churches already shows that it is not safe to criticize or oppose any aspect of the Communist program, even though one is poor and revolutionary.

### *Communism as the Judgment of God*

This, then, is the Communism which we face. It is the judgment of God on our individualistic, bourgeois, complacent Christianity. It is the challenge of God, for the people's revolution which now follows Communist leadership is still the work of His hand and redemption of China lies in winning it to a knowledge of its Lord. These may seem like strange words to Americans whose eyes are on Europe. There American money and arms support a strong revolutionary faith and program which are vigorously reforming bourgeois smugness and capitalist injustice. Here the Communists are the bearers of the revolution, disciplined by a culture, and a conscience of their own. Here the greatest enemies of creative life are the indescribable corruption, irresponsibility, exploitation, and pointless brutality of the businessmen, landlords and generals who control the "legal" government. It is a tragic failure of American diplomacy and propaganda that most Chinese today associate western democracy with that decaying government. It is tragic that many Christians have been identified with that government and its failure, thereby weakening the Christian movement and its institutions.

### *Can the Christian Church Witness in a Revolutionary China?*

Can the Christian Church, then, witness to the will of God and the redeeming love of Christ concretely, within a revolu-

tionary China? Perhaps a look at our bourgeois assumptions will help to show us the way. We must learn that hospitals are tools of healing. They are not healing. Schools are organizations of education. They are not the imparting of knowledge. Even churches are centers and structures of worship and Christian expression. They are not Christian faith and life itself. Christians are being asked, not just by Communist dogma, but by the people, to divest themselves of every mark of ostentation or superiority—to blend with the life of the people. Even that careful fence of sanitation which foreigners and educated Chinese build around themselves must go (and how our love of life kicks against this goad!).

Churches which have best blended, whose pastor has worked at other jobs, whose education has been person to person, often within the still inviolate family—these churches have fared best so far. For individual Christians this may mean a humility which from without will look like subservience—excusing the unjust excesses of mob action, for example, remembering for how many years the Church has been silent about the exploitation which has angered the mob. It may mean that for years, until suspicion of his past is erased, the Christian, especially the foreign missionary, will have to witness by a spirit of life rather than by teaching doctrines or exciting emotions.

### *The First Act Demanded of Christians*

To put it shortly, the first act demanded of Christians in the face of this new revolution is repentance—specific and public repentance for our actual sins, and for the sins of bourgeois-Kuomintang society against which we did not throw our weight. God has spoken in judgment. And His first word is to His people. Perhaps when we have drunk humbly and to the full the cup which the Communists have prepared for us, we will begin to understand why the despairing turn to Communism. Perhaps then God will be able to use us in bringing salvation to those who fear and do not hope.

But the awful wonder of His grace does not wait for us to be ready or worthy to serve Him. Already the Church in China has a gospel which it cannot hide. Every act of humility, of social service or personal love betrays the will of the Master whom Christians serve. That a Church can strip itself of every institution, of all money and full-time leadership, and still survive as a vital fellowship from which come society's most devoted public servants—is this not a miracle to make Communists rub their eyes? In this Church lie the undeveloped roots of a positive alternative to Communism in the realm of social faith and philosophy. Herein is consciousness not just of standards, but of The Standard, which God sets for all earthly authority. Here is not just another positive spirit but a channel for The Spirit bringing forth the glory of God on earth. Seldom has so great a treasure been placed in so frail a vessel. Christians in China must witness where the power and love of God are at work. They must take positive creative action in society to liberate the human spirit. This may mean a cooperative to express Christian community in economic life. It may mean a social service project thrown in the teeth of suspicion and prejudice by Christian love. It will mean continuous and infinitely tactful battles for the mind and soul of the Communist propaganda agent whose business it is to see that every social group, even churches, is permeated with Communist spirit and doctrine. It will mean that we must teach and preach, whether or not we are allowed schools and books, or full-time leaders. But always this witness of the word must be a specific, saving and guiding word for the person or group to whom we speak.

When we have at last done all this, will we succeed in redeeming the Communist revolution? Perhaps, as man sees these events, we shall fail. The dogma may harden against us and prevent the redeeming touch. It is not primarily our business, however, to succeed, as man measures success, but rather, concretely to witness, to try, and trust that God may use our

success or failure. It is our business to continue to be "revolutionary" ourselves—aggressively and creatively revolutionary. For the Chinese, like all other peoples, must one day learn that not "the people's" strength, but Jesus Christ will "make all things new."

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## The Christian Response to Revolutionary Change in China

*Rowland M. Cross*

A revolution greater than any this century has known in China is taking place today. The political revolution is far more deep-seated than the setting up of the Republic in 1911 or the nationalist revolution in 1926-28. The language reform of the 1920's is not comparable to the ideological change of today. The present economic reforms are more radical than any that have preceded. In the field of religion the adoption of a materialistic philosophy of life is much more serious than the anti-Christian movement which flared up in 1922. Whether Communism is making use of revolutionary trends already present in China or is initiating changes peculiar to itself, it is causing a fundamental upheaval.

We may well ask: What are the implications of these de-

velopments for the Christian Mission in China? What response should the Christian Church make to this new environment? It might evacuate or retreat, waiting for the storm to settle. In the fall of 1948, to many Chinese and missionaries this seemed the logical thing to do. The reasons for evacuation were these: Some individuals had either antagonized the Communists or felt certain that they could not work with them; nervousness, near retirement age, small children in the family influenced others. At first the Chinese Christians advised missionaries to leave. Since the Communists were strongly anti-foreign and anti-American, it was thought that the Chinese Church would get along better if the missionaries were not present. The United States government through its consular officials encouraged missionaries to leave and offered transportation facilities if accepted in time. The church made plans to send missionaries and some Chinese leaders to other places for temporary service, so there was quite a migration from North China to South China. Some went to the Philippines and a few to Japan. One large board reports a transfer of about 5 per cent of its missionaries in China to other fields in the Far East. Several hundred missionaries from China, mostly parents with little children or those in poor health or near retirement age, have returned to America.

### ***Should Christian Missionaries Stay on in "Liberated Areas"?***

But new factors began to emerge. Communism spread rapidly over the country. Chinese Christians and missionaries decided that it was useless to move. Further, it became increasingly clear that one would be in a better position if he had been on hand when the turnover took place. It would be difficult to go back afterward. Consular officials were staying on, in Mukden and other cities in the path of the Communist advance. The State Department was not evacuating its representatives, why should missionaries leave? Then, too, as a Chinese pastor said to me, "Whatever happens the Chinese people are

still there." Chinese leaders began to request missionaries to remain. In a signed statement eighteen outstanding Christians said, "We pray that some of our missionary brothers and sisters will stand by us and share with us the perils and promises of this fateful hour of Chinese history." An internationally known Chinese Christian, in an address to a group of missionaries in Shanghai, made this courageous statement:

The question is raised as to whether the Church could remain in the "liberated areas." My answer is positive. The Church is above politics and is religious in nature. Its object is to serve the people. So long as there are people to serve, it is our duty to stay. . . . To be sure, to take such a step is a severe test of our faith. Has the Lord ever called upon His disciples to play safe and not to risk their lives for His Kingdom? . . . Whether from the standpoint of idealism or from the standpoint of realism, it is better to have our foreign colleagues to remain with us wherever this is possible. . . . It is illogical for us not to prove that we are really an ecumenical Church which transcends nationalities and races. Should this prove to be an embarrassment to the Chinese Church, I feel that we must be prepared to suffer for such a principle. . . .

### *A Creative Period Ahead*

Finally it was evident that the most creative period of missionary endeavor would be just before, during, and in the year or two following the change in government. These new factors have exercised a determining influence upon missionaries' and Chinese Christians' actions in recent months so that the temporary evacuation thesis has been largely discarded.

The final response, therefore, has been for most of the Chinese Christians and a strong force of missionaries to remain at their posts, resolving to maintain their Christian witness and to carry on as far as possible the work of the Christian enterprise.

Dean T. C. Chao of Yenching School of Religion wrote articles and letters from Peiping at the time of the turnover

calling upon the church to live its faith in a time of creative opportunity.

The Word must be demonstrated—demonstrated in the changed lives of the converted, in the preacher's own dangerous, self-less living, in the whole-hearted fellowship within the Christian community, in the unity of the churches and in their ceasing to be in the plural, and in labors of love under all circumstances and in all seasons.

### *Recommendations for the Chinese Church*

A Conference in Shanghai in March attended by forty Chinese and twenty-seven missionaries discussed the "Future of Christian Work in China." A Chinese church executive based his recommendations for the future church upon past experience and upon news from "liberated" areas: 1) A far more effective lay leadership is essential. Paid workers are confronting difficulties in getting support. In some places they must register as "productive workers" before they can receive gifts from abroad. In Tsinan the "Y" staff all had trades allocated to them by Chinese authorities. In Taiwan during 1941-45 the Christian cause made wonderful progress because new Christians had been trained from the beginning to regard themselves as missionaries. 2) Administrative responsibility must be shifted from missionaries to Chinese. 3) We must help the community to see that Christianity is a practical and working religion, closely related to the livelihood of the common people whether spiritual, social, or economic. It is not simply talking about truth; we must map out new programs. 4) Overlapping in organization is wasteful,—the times call for a united front. 5) There will be no future for churches or Christian organizations that depend upon foreign subsidy. We must develop the idea and practice of Christian stewardship.

The China Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference issued a statement on May 2 on the Christian Mission in China. It was based on the findings of a two-day conference held near New York, on Christianity and Communism in

China, attended by thirty-two board secretaries and Chinese leaders. We draw at length upon this statement because it represents careful thinking by experienced friends of China, on our future program.

### ***The Rural Church***

The maintenance and cultivation of the life of the 12,000 Protestant churches in China becomes under present circumstances our primary and most promising task. The vast majority of these churches are in the villages and market towns. Communism has made its principal impact there. The program of the church has long emphasized the improvement of rural life, although all too little has been done. We are challenged to concentrate attention, personnel and other resources on the village church and community. The aim should be the



*Triangle*

**Communism has made its principal impact in the villages and market towns.**

strengthening of the inner life of that church and of its evangelistic witness, and the enlarging and enriching of its service to the community as an integral part of that witness.

Resources now available to the Christian movement should be utilized at once, without delaying for additional men or money. The program should minister to the total needs of any community concerned. It should enlist the services of institutions of all kinds and grades, and of students and young people. It should call out a maximum of local resources and be designed to help people to help themselves. Stress should be put on leadership training, especially for lay men and women, on a Christian spirit in the home, and on nurture in the Christian faith. An increase in the use of audio-visual methods with more indigenous materials is called for.

Rural Service and Training Centers should be implemented as rapidly as possible. A number of these are already operating successfully.

A letter from Tunghsien, near Peiping, three months after the Communists had taken over, states that "The North China Christian Rural Service Union and staff had remained at the center. The two months' Folk School with thirty-seven farmers in attendance, carried through to the end with a neighboring school of forty students joining them for one month. Twelve students had been enrolled in the one-year training class. The staff, with the help of these young student-learners, plans to work the 100-mow experimental farm and attend to the animal husbandry department. This year they will attempt to operate their experimental chicken yards on a self-supporting basis. . . . *The Christian Farmer* has resumed publication and is applying for registration under the new government. They feel that this is a crucial year and that strong leadership for the Union may well be determinative for the future program."

The Christian Rural Service Union at Chuhsien, Anhwei is located in a market center about 30 miles northwest of Nanking. A large number of rural churches are within easy reach



A.B.C.F.M.

Rural Service Union fair held near Tunghsien, October 1948.  
Left: An exhibit of squash, turnips and other vegetables.  
Right: Examining pictures of American farm machinery.

of the town. The transfer of Chuhsien from Nationalist to Communist control was made peacefully, with every reasonable consideration for the welfare of the local people by both sides. In a letter written three weeks after the turnover the field director wrote: "One hardly needs to point out that the rural church programs emphasized by the Union from the start have helped to meet the need which has led to the terrific social upheaval that is convulsing the nation. . . . So urgent is the demand for the services the Union offers that our resources are taxed to the utmost. The Department of Rural Health gave the only medical service available through its emergency clinic. The Department of Farmer's Education will utilize the entire ground floor for a mass education school. Our brief experience with the new regime indicates that this varied program will make the church a welcome institution in the new social order."

### *The City Church*

The program for the city churches is as follows:

- (a) To build up the Church more and more as a worshiping community through its service and the sacraments, laying stress upon family participation and personal devotions of the individual.

(b) To make each congregation, and, as far as possible, the entire Christian community in each place, more truly the family of Christ, bearing one another's burden in the manner of the apostolic Church.

(c) To draw upon the highest intellectual and spiritual qualities of pastors and lay leaders in a common effort to understand and evaluate the meaning of both Communism and Christianity.

(d) To encourage these pastors to seek special training, including:

- 1) Education in modern social and political doctrines and practice;
- 2) Counseling and forms of social service;
- 3) Skill in some craft in order that they may share in the productive life of the community and, if necessary, support themselves entirely by their own earnings.

(e) For all churches and Christian agencies in each city to join in close cooperation and planning in order to adjust to the requirements of the community.

(f) To widen the witness of the Church through preparation of laymen for church work.

(g) To maintain a broad Christian ministry of social welfare, adjusted to the changing life of the cities.

### **Youth Work**

It is recognized that young men and women in China have a most significant role to play. They form the cadres for the effective achievement of the just aspirations of the people. The Christian Churches and Associations will encourage their young members in activities which are socially constructive and are penetrated with the spirit and example of Jesus. Educational institutions have the task of helping each student find his way through theories and doubts to intelligent, courageous Christian convictions.

During the past few years two different attitudes have been evident among student workers. One group preaches a detached other-worldly gospel; the other group, which includes most of the Student Christian Movement secretaries, concerned that young men and women find a religion which will help them meet the problems of everyday living, teaches the Christ of the Everyday Road. One of them puts it tersely: "Youth will not come to know Jesus in a vacuum but in a social setting."

### ***Christian Literature***

First in importance will be the continued production and circulation of the Bible. It is significant that in some places all religious text-books have been abolished in the schools except the Bible. During the past months the Bible has been circulated widely through all China.

### ***Literacy***

Pictures from Nanking show the eagerness of the people for the reading of simple books for near illiterates, and from the Communist areas come reports that the language used in the papers is comparatively simple and easy to read. All this means that Christian literature is more needed than ever with careful attention to producing things relevant to the felt needs of various sections of the population, to simplicity of style, and to adept methods of distribution. This kind of literature is an effective means of maintaining the relevance of Christianity to daily problems with the objectives of education, inspiration, and practical service.

### ***Medical Work***

The Secretary of the Council for Christian Medical Work in China proposes that the new strategy for medical work should provide for one central hospital in an area with related rural hospitals and rural clinics, the last of immediate urgency. Medical colleges should give their students a wide variety of experience in town and village so that the medical service may

be rooted in the farming areas. There will be a closer integration of hospital and church. The art of healing remains above politics and so the Christian physician and nurse may be the essential witnesses for Christ in Communist areas.

In his 1948 report, the Secretary states that it is almost impossible to maintain hospitals in these areas in full running conditions because of the difficulty of getting adequate supplies of food and medicines. For instance, the Mukden Medical College hospital formerly had 340 patients but the number had been reduced to 70 and these 70 had to bring their own food. However, the report states, "Interference with the hospitals by the Communists in recent months has been minimal. The hospitals are needed and encouraged to continue operating, sometimes on their own terms; in other cases they have been taken over and used by the organized medical services of the Communists."

### *Education*

Protestant education through 13 colleges, 250 high schools and institutions of other grades and kinds giving cultural training and courses in science, medicine, engineering, and agriculture, has made a big contribution to China. In the years ahead these institutions can make the most significant contribution according to the China Committee statement by maintaining: (1) high academic standards; (2) a Christian outlook on life; and (3) practical experience in relating theory to actual life processes.



A.B.C.F.M.

Entrance to Bashford Hall, administration building of Yenching University.

Christian schools must link instruction with practice. Every student should be led as part of his regular school work to participate in projects for the betterment of society. The Christian outlook will come from example and worship as much as from instruction.

It will be difficult to conduct schools of this character since restrictions of many kinds may be imposed, too much student control encouraged, the tuition fees and subsidies forbidden; but Christian educators are facing the task with resolution.

### **Personnel**

The key to the successful carrying forward of this whole program is personnel. Outstanding Christian leaders have made it clear that they want their Western colleagues to remain and others to join them. The Cleveland Conference on the Churches and World Order called upon American Protestantism to "undertake a vigorous campaign of enlistment for added missionary personnel."

The requirements for missionaries who are to work in contemporary China are of an exacting nature. The China Committee statement lists these requirements—so revealing, both of the kind of missionaries wanted and of the nature of their work, that we quote in full.

1. Missionaries must have such a vital faith and a radiant Christian personality that they are able to make an effective witness in their daily living.
2. They must be thoroughly integrated with the Chinese Christian movement and be prepared to carry whatever responsibilities are agreed upon in the common task of Chinese and Westerners.
3. They must be prepared to live under rugged conditions. . . . There will be need for a return to the close identification with the life of the Chinese community which characterized early Christian missions in China.
4. Mission Boards may for the present recommend the recruiting of single missionaries, whether men or women. . . .
5. Missionaries must be emotionally stable and spiritually mature. . . .

"Missionaries are under psychological tensions, the worst since Boxer Days." There is the difficulty of just "getting over the days" with inadequate food, heat, light; transportation systems are broken down, and contact with the outside world cut off. Currency is a baffling problem with fantastic prices often changing as much as three times in a day. Plans for meetings cannot be carried through. Standards drop in hospital and school.

There is also physical danger. The tragic death of Mrs. Horace H. Underwood in Seoul, Korea, highlighted the danger which Chinese Christians and missionaries constantly face.

So it is that "fear, worry, uncertainty and frustration produce problems which affect older missionaries and new recruits alike and which only calm nerves, living faith in Christ and clear intellect can surmount."

6. Missionaries should be able to make a contribution along three lines: a. Through personal relationships; b. contribution of knowledge, method and inspiration to Chinese colleagues in Church leadership; c. technical skill required in Christian institutions or projects of all kinds.

In the new situation the missionary must be especially qualified to serve the common people. Doctors, nurses, agricultural specialists, home and family life workers, men and women with a trade, teachers—those who can earn their own living or teach others how to make a living will be wanted.

7. Missionaries must be creative, willing to experiment with new methods of Christian work, adaptable to changed conditions.
8. In addition to a thorough training in Chinese culture, they must acquire an understanding of Communism—theory, practice in Cominform countries, and Chinese developments. In the old days it was necessary to know Chinese religions; it is even more important that the missionary of the present day know Communism.
9. Careful acquisition of the Chinese language with the modern terms is essential. Nothing will contribute more to the identification of the missionary with the community than his facility in use of the language.

*Chinese*—Now more than ever before the responsibility for developing the Christian community rests upon the Chinese Church. Missionaries are eager to help in every way, but in the last analysis it is the Chinese Christians who must create the Christian community. The recruiting, training, and use of Chinese personnel, therefore, is a first priority in the program of the Christian Church in China. Every Christian is a worker and needs training to make him an effective witness. The Church may well increase the participation of lay leadership. Women will have an increasingly important place in the Christian community. As in New Testament days, the Christian family will be the center of the fellowship. Some who have been paid workers may find it necessary to follow the example of St. Paul and earn their living in secular occupation. Therefore the church, in its training program, needs to develop leaders who, besides thorough grounding in the Bible, the Christian faith, and modern ideologies will also have a vocational-training for earning a livelihood.

But will the American Church support missionaries and such a program under present conditions in China? Is there not danger that institutions will have restrictions thrown around them until they lose their Christian character? Would it not be well to hold up funds for China and use them elsewhere? The United Board for Christian Colleges in China has given its answer:

The Trustees of the United Board have taken the great responsibility of deciding that so long as it is possible for the Colleges to continue their work in accordance with their basic Christian purposes, we shall continue to give them every support. In any event we shall try to assure the continuance of Christian higher education in China, and we shall stand behind the more than a thousand faculty members who have dedicated their talents and their lives in China's service.

The Benevolence Committee of one of the large churches in New York City met to apportion for overseas projects the \$23,000 which came in from "One Great Hour" and the Eastern Campaign. It was proposed to allocate \$500 to Yenching University; \$2,000 to the United Board for Christian Colleges in China; \$750 to the National Christian Council Rural Department; \$750 to a Rural Service Center near Foochow. The ques-

tion was raised whether money for these items should not be retained for a time or diverted to other countries. Two of the businessmen on the committee spoke up: "If Chinese and missionary faculties are ready to run the risk of staying on the job, we should run the risk of supporting them. We consider it a good business risk to keep our representatives in China. These are justifiable expenditures." The allocations were voted.

This is in line with the Cleveland Declaration which concerned all the Far East but especially China; "It is our conviction that the revolutionary desires of the Far East can be ultimately satisfied only by the faith, program, and discipline to be found in Christianity. . . . Whatever happens, we must do everything possible to help the churches maintain their witness and ministry. . . . Standards of giving must be drastically raised on behalf of [relief and rehabilitation and other features of] the world mission of the church . . . an advance in giving commensurate with the present disorder, suffering, and urgent opportunity."

A missionary in the thick of the struggle writes:

The church must stay and take whatever comes, not with a belligerent nor with a defensive protective attitude but with faith, courage, joy and a positive message and a demonstration of group living. The thing is no more anti-Christian nor dangerous than was the Roman Empire to the little bands of early Christians. The main difference is that we have grown accustomed to thinking of being Christian as the accepted thing, rather than the choice of a perilous course demanding revaluation of previous values, the drawing of clear distinctions, and the close following of a Guide and Master through dark days and severe testing.

Out of China's past, we hear a message for this hour: "Death comes from ease and pleasure. Life springs from sorrow and calamity."

# WASHINGTON REPORT



June 15, 1949

Thomas B. Keehn

## CIVIL LIBERTIES AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Legislation to carry forward President Truman's Civil Rights program was stalled early in the 81st Congress by the filibuster. Anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills, a Fair Employment Practices Commission and proposals to strengthen the Civil Rights machinery of the Department of Justice have all been held up.

At the same time, there has been an increasing amount of interest in legislation to deal with the complicated problems of national security and subversive activities. This has been an almost inevitable result of the political contest between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. which has dominated the post-war period. It has produced serious threats to basic civic liberties which have traditionally been guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

For example, Congress has before it once again bills introduced by Representative Richard Nixon and Senator Carl Mundt, H.R. 3342 and S. 1194, called the "Subversive Activities Control Act, 1949." These bills declare the Communist Party and its front organizations to be a clear and present danger to the United States, and specify such things as registration, reporting, and other controls of the activities of such groups. Representative Francis

Walter has introduced another bill, H.R. 3435, which takes away the citizenship rights of anyone who participates in a Communist political organization. Representative Wood has proposed a bill, H.R. 3903, which makes it unlawful for a Federal employee and individuals employed in national defense contracts to be affiliated with the Communist party or other subversive organizations.

Bills such as these and others before Congress will be seriously considered within the next few months. They are concerned with a genuine problem—the protection of the security of the nation in a time of tension. At the same time, it is of utmost importance to deal with new methods of political penetration and still preserve the rights of individuals which are essential to a democratic government. It is to this problem that the following statement on CIVIL LIBERTIES AND NATIONAL SECURITY, adopted by the Council for Social Action at its annual meeting in February, 1949, addresses itself. It is printed here in its entirety.

—T. K.

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International tension, post-war conditions at home, and the problem of totalitarianism

— particularly international Communism — have combined to make civil liberties a critical issue today, both in the United States and throughout the world. The problem of civil liberties was a prominent feature of the recent political campaign in the United States. Now, as the 81st Congress begins its work, there is a great need and opportunity to review the situation.

The Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches continues to support the extension of basic civil rights to include economic, political, and social opportunities on an equal basis for all. Some of the traditional American freedoms, perhaps accepted too easily, are being tested today. These include constitutional guarantees which protect the rights of the individual and the separation of powers system of government which has characterized American democracy. It is to problems which arise from these basic concepts that we now address our attention.

## I. Treatment of Subversive Groups

We are opposed to the aims and methods of the Communist Party and its front organizations. Espionage and sedition

laws and security measures should be examined by the proper committees of Congress with a view to improving their effectiveness. We do not believe, however, that legislation is the only method of controlling or combatting subversive groups. We do not deem it expedient to outlaw the Communist Party. We favor disclosure through widespread publicity including properly conducted Congressional hearings and prosecution under Federal laws as the proper way for democratic government to deal with subversive groups.

## II. Loyalty Investigation of Federal Employees

We recognize the right of government to determine the loyalty of its employees. We believe that this must be done in a manner which will safeguard national security and at the same time maintain the civil liberties of public workers.

The loyalty investigation was established by Executive Order 9835 on March 22, 1947. In this investigation all Federal employees are finger-printed and answer a questionnaire which is sent to the FBI.\*

\*The State Department, National Military Establishment, and A.E.C. each conduct separate loyalty investigations.

Here investigation ends unless "derogatory information" turns up. If material or allegations relevant to the loyalty of an employee are presented, the FBI conducts a full field investigation. This report is then sent without recommendation by the FBI to the Loyalty Board in the agency where the employee works. A review system for appeals from employees is set up in the agency. Then the Civil Service Commission's Loyalty Review Board, on both a regional and national basis, is available for higher appeals.

During the appeal procedure the employee may have counsel and present evidence on his own behalf. He must have sufficient notice of hearings and the hearings themselves are private. A transcript of the hearing is furnished to the employee.

The Executive Order establishes certain standards by which an individual's loyalty is to be judged. These include usual activities such as sabotage, espionage, treason or sedition, advocacy of revolution by force or violence to alter our constitutional form of government, and intentional and unauthorized disclosure of documents or information of a con-

fidential or non-public character under circumstances which may indicate disloyalty to the United States. In addition, a new standard is added for judging the loyalty of an employee of the Federal government. This involves *membership in or affiliation with or sympathetic association with any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons designated by the Attorney-General as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive*, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as attempting to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

#### A. Criticisms of the Loyalty Investigation

The loyalty program as it has operated since its inception is subject to five criticisms:

(1) A general investigation of the loyalty of all Federal employees is wasteful and unnecessary (only those employees in sensitive areas of government need to be investigated for security reasons).

(2) The wording of Execu-

tive Order 9835 establishing the loyalty program is vague and open to many misinterpretations.

(3) The designating of subversive organizations by an executive officer of the government (the Attorney-General) without public hearings or announced standards of judgment raises serious constitutional questions.

(4) Traditional judicial procedures have not been employed in the operation of the loyalty investigation. The employee does not have recourse to the right of confrontation and cross-examination which are fundamental to the liberties of the individual either in the process of investigation or in the appeal procedure.

(5) The appeal system under the loyalty investigation is complicated, expensive, and a burden upon both lawyers and government employees.

Because of the nature of the loyalty investigation, even the top Loyalty Review Board does not have access to original evidence and witnesses. As a result, the process has been difficult to carry out in a manner fair to either employees or administrators. It has reportedly had a serious effect upon the morale of some employees of the Fed-

eral government and serves to deter some persons of high calibre from applying or serving in the Federal government.

### B. Principles to Guide the Loyalty Investigation

In recent years three principles have been enunciated which should be helpful guides to policies used in the loyalty investigation:

(1) The Supreme Court has held that the constitutional rights of individual citizens may be limited when words or actions represent a "clear and present danger" to government. (*Shenk v. U.S.* 249 U.S. 47)

(2) The Supreme Court has likewise held that guilt is personal violation of law and not a matter of association. Overt acts rather than wrong thinking are necessary to judge the guilt of a person. (*Bridges v. Wixon* 326 U.S. 135)

(3) It has been recognized as a traditional concept that the rights of minorities should be respected as fundamental to the rights of all. These rights include particularly freedom of thought, speech, and assembly, and fair administrative and judicial procedure.

It is important that in any program eventually adopted by the government, the procedure

by which the loyalty of an accused federal worker is determined should be a fair, consistently applied, stated process. Specific rules of evidence should be laid down. Each employee should have the right to a bill of particular accusation, right to a written answer, representation by counsel at all examinations or hearings, the right to subpoena witnesses and documents, a stenographic report of proceedings, a written decision, and time to prepare a written brief for an appeal. Competent and judicious people should have the responsibility for administering the program.

### C. Recommendations

On the basis of these criticisms of the loyalty review program and mindful of the principles which should guide such a program, we make the following recommendations:

(1) A loyalty investigation of some employees of the Federal government is necessary. Clarification of the definition of disloyalty and the standards by which it is determined is important. Probably this could be effected through amendments to the espionage, treason and sedition laws, and security measures.

(2) There should be one

uniform loyalty investigation for all agencies of government but the investigation itself should be limited to the sensitive areas in these agencies.

(3) Traditional judicial procedures should be employed to safeguard the employee in the conduct of the investigation.

(4) The time is propitious for review of the entire loyalty program. A special Presidential Commission should be appointed to make a critical, objective evaluation of the loyalty investigation program. This Commission should also examine security measures and laws of the nation. It should do this in a thorough, scientific manner without fanfare or political bias in an effort to discover methods to safeguard national security and individual liberties.

### III. Procedures of Congressional Committees

The right of Committees of Congress to conduct inquiries is exceedingly broad. They can conduct hearings in any field, summon witnesses, and compel testimony under threat of contempt. But this right must be exercised in a reasonable manner. Committees of Congress must investigate for legislative purposes and not for prosecution purposes.

Because recent events in Congressional hearings have abused the right of inquiry, we recommend the following:

#### A. Functions of Committees of Congress

The functions of Committees of Congress must be clearly defined and stated. Part of the abuse in Congressional Committee hearings has resulted from the lack of clarity of Committee responsibility. Committees should announce the subject of hearings before they are opened and limit evidence to relevant matters. This would improve both the procedures and efficiency of hearings.

#### B. A Fair Code of Procedure

A Fair Code of Procedure for Congressional Committees should be adopted to safeguard individuals and organizations. This code should include:

(1) A careful investigation preliminary to any public hearing.

(2) The right of witnesses to counsel, to obtain a copy of the stenographic record of testimony, to reply to any evidence injurious to them, to subpoena witnesses on their own behalf, to cross-examine their accusers, and to file a statement of their own views.

(3) Committees should be

prohibited from making public any information about persons or organizations who have not had opportunity to defend themselves before the Committee; and the Committee should not anticipate charges against individuals before hearings have been held.

(4) Committee reports should be issued only after having been read and approved by a majority of the Committee members.

This Fair Code would help to improve the efficiency of Congress in discharging its responsibility for drafting and enacting legislation.

#### C. Un-American Activities Committee

We are opposed to the Un-American Activities Committee as it has operated. This Committee does not have a clearly stated function. It has violated the Fair Code of Procedures outlined in sections A and B above. This Committee should either conform to these standards or it should be abolished.

### IV. State Legislative Committees

The same principles stated in Section III-B, a Fair Code of Procedures, should apply to State Legislative Committees.

# *On To Action*

The social action movement is an effort of modern Christianity to recover the lost provinces of economic and political life. Communism is also seeking to capture these areas, concentrating upon labor, press and government. In this effort Communism has been temporarily aided by the breakdown of order following the wars. It has often been able to appear as the undisputed champion of social justice because other great forces have withdrawn. Christian social action is an affirmative, militant effort of the churches to influence contemporary social movements with the religious and moral principles derived from Christian faith.

This issue on China underscores the need of attention to the problems of the economic insecurity of the masses. When the disciples proposed to Jesus that He send the hungry multitude away to buy themselves food, He said, "Give ye them to eat." Government and church relief and rehabilitation, necessary as it is, does not meet the need. Beyond rehabilitation bold new programs of redevelopment and improved living standards are needed. Our faith is concerned with a "Christian material revolution" which will provide bread for the masses of mankind.

But bread alone is not enough. Other injustices as great as poverty offer enticing fields for communism. Certainly Christianity, which has championed social justice from Elijah and Amos to Wilberforce and Rauschenbusch, must stand out for the rights of the underdog, the worth of the worker and the participation of the individual in those areas of power where decisions are made which vitally concern him. Christians must insist upon justice with freedom. For neither is won by the denial of the other; neither comes automatically as a result of the other. Both must grow together.

A conversion of western Christianity to aggressive social action is necessary to meet the threat of Communism. There is no other deliverance for man from mass insecurity to the democratic welfare state, from class tyranny to brotherhood, from segregation and discrimination to true community. Such salvation is not derived from economic forces or political movements alone. It comes through Christian social action. Ultimately, it is from God. It is His Kingdom come.

*Ray Gibbons*